CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

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ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTIETH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 16 June 1970, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. H.F. ESCHAUZIER (Netherlands)

(Previous verbatim records in this series appeared under the symbols ENDC/PV.1-ENDC/PV.430).

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Argentina:	Mr. A.F. DUMONT
	Mr. V.E. BERASATEGUI
Brazil:	Mr. R.E. SARAIVA GUERREIRO
	Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
	Mr. L.F. PALMEIRA LAMPREIA
Bulgaria:	Mr. T. PETROV
	Mr. I. PEINIRDJIEV
Burma:	U KYAW MIN
Canada:	Mr. G. IGNATIEFF
	Mr. R.W. CLARK
	Mr. J.R. MORDEN
	Mr. R.E. MOORE
Czechoslovakia:	Mr. J. STRUCKA
	Mr. F. MARESKA
Ethiopia:	Mr. A. ZELLEKE
	Mr. G. ALEMU
Hungary:	Mr. I. KOMIVES
	Mr. J. PETRAN
India:	Mr. M.A. HUSAIN
	Mr. K.P. JAIN
Italy:	Mr. R. CARACCIOLO
	Mr. F.L. OTTIERI
	Mr. R. BORSARELLI
	Mr. U. PESTALOZZA

Japan:	Mr. H. TANAKA
	Mr. H. OTSUKA
	Mr. T. SENGOKU
	Mr. J. SAKAMOTO
Mexico:	Mr. J. CASTANEDA
	Mr. B. SEPULVEDA
	Mr. R. VALERO
Mongolia:	Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG
	Mr. B. DASHTSEREN
	Mr. Z. ERENDO
Morocco:	Mr. N. EL FASSI
	Mr. M.A.A. KHATTABI
Netherlands:	Mr. H.F. ESCHAUZIER
	Mr. E. BOS
Nigeria:	Mr. SULE KOLO
	Mr. C.O. HOLLIST
	Mr. L.A. MALIKI
Pakistan:	Mr. K. AHMED
	Mr. S.A.D. BUKHARI
	Mr. T.O. HYDER
Poland:	Mr. K. ZYBYLSKI
	Mr. H. STEPOSZ
	Mr. R. WLAZLO
Romania:	Mr. I. DATCU
	Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Sweden:	Mr. A. EDELSTAM
	Mr. I. VIRGIN
	Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:	Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
	Mr. I.I. TCHEPROV
	Mr. L.A. MASTERKOV
	Mr. Y.C. NAZARKINE
United Arab Republic:	Mr. H. KHALLAF
	Mr. E.S. EL REEDY
	Mr. Y. RIZK
	Mr. M. ISMAIL
United Kingdom:	Mr. I.F. PORTER
	Mr. W.N. HILLIER-FRY
	Mr. J.T. MASEFIELD
	Mr. R. HOULISTON
United States of America:	Mr. J.F. LEONARD
	Mr. A.F. NEIDLE
	Mr. W. GIVAN
	Mr. R.L. McCORMACK
Yugoslavia:	Mr. M. BOZINOVIC
	Mr. M. VUKOVIC
Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General:	Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Netherlands): I declare open the 470th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

2. In accordance with established practice on the resumption of the work of the Conference, the first part of this meeting will be open.

3. Before we begin our deliberations I should like to take this opportunity, as Chairman of today's meeting, to welcome all of you, and especially Ambassador Petrov of Bulgaria and Ambassador Tanaka of Japan as new members of the Committee; although of course I realize that Ambassador Petrov is already well known to us in his former capacity of deputy leader of the Bulgarian delegation. I should also like to address a special word of welcome to Ambassador Castañeda of Mexico and Ambassador Erdembileg of Mongolia, who have returned to Geneva after a short absence. Finally, we are gratified that the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Epstein, and the members of his staff are again with us at this session.

4. I should like to add to those words of welcome the expression of my sincere hopes and wishes that in the course of our resumed session we shall be able to make further progress on the important and complicated issues before this Committee. In the world of today we should do our utmost to meet the expectations of all mankind, and especially of the younger generations, to ensure that international co-operation and solidarity are no longer hampered by armed conflicts and confrontations, and that we strive towards peace and security among nations. May this Committee contribute to the fulfilment of those expectations!

5. I take it that, apart from a welcome amount of relaxation during our recess, we have all had an opportunity to reflect on the results of the first part of our session, to consult with our authorities and to consider what remains to be done during the current session. On the other hand, I do not think it is necessary for me to elaborate on the most urgent topics on our list. Suffice it to recall that we have a full agenda for the coming weeks. For instance, the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session requested this Committee to complete the text of a draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof (resolution 2602 F (XXIV); CCD/275). Another subject under consideration by this Committee relates to chemical and biological warfare. The General Assembly

(The Chairman, Netherlands)

has requested us to give urgent consideration to reaching agreement on the elimination of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and to report on the progress achieved on all aspects of that problem to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly (resolution 2603 B (XXIV), ibid.).

6. In connexion with the Disarmament Decade the Committee has also to pay further attention to the formulation of a comprehensive programme dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control (resolution 2602 E (XXIV), ibid.). The Committee has also been asked to continue its deliberations on a treaty banning underground nuclear weapon tests (resolution 2604 B (XXIV), ibid.) and to consider the achievement of a comprehensive test ban in the light of the results of the questionnaire addressed to governments by the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the provision of certain information in the context of a world-wide exchange of seismological data (resolution 2604 A (XXIV), ibid.).

7. I think that members of the Committee will agree with me that we should make every effort to achieve positive results in those fields, in particular with a view to the forthcoming celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which, incidentally, coincides with the beginning of the Disarmament Decade; and in that connexion I should like to mention the recent statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at a conference at United Nations Headquarters on "The politics of disarmament; proposals for the 1970s"[1/].

8. Since I have no speakers on my list for the open part of this meeting, that part is now concluded and I would request the press and visitors in the public gallery to withdraw. We shall have a five-minute recess, after which the Committee will resume its work in private.

The meeting was suspended at 3.15 p.m. and resumed at 3.20 p.m.

9. The CHAIRMAN (Netherlands): We now begin the closed part of our meeting, and I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union.

1/ Press Release SG/SM/1261, 22 May 1970.

10. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Before beginning our statement on the questions under discussion in the Committee on Disarmament, we wish to associate ourselves, Mr. Chairman, with the words of welcome you have addressed to the newly-appointed representatives to the Committee on Disarmament -- Ambassador Petrov, the representative of Bulgaria, and Ambassador Tanaka, the representative of Japan -- and to wish them success in their new assignment in the search for a solution to the problem of disarmament. We should also like to express our satisfaction at seeing among us again Ambassador Castañeda, the representative of Mexico; Ambassador Erdembileg, the representative of Mongolia, and Ambassador El Fassi, the representative of Morocco, who have resumed their participation in the work of our Committee. We have always valued highly their collaboration on the problems before the Committee.

11. I should now like to discuss the questions under consideration in this Committee. Today the Committee on Disarmament has again taken up the problems on its agenda. As at its spring session, the Committee has before it such problems as the conclusion of a treaty on prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and agreement on a draft convention prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles. It has also to consider the problems relating to general and complete disarmament, the question of the prohibition of underground nuclear tests, and a number of other matters which have been introduced by various countries. In the present highly tense international situation there is urgent need to increase efforts to solve disarmament problems and to ensure international security.

12. With respect to prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, we believe that the Committee should conclude consideration of the draft treaty which was submitted by the Soviet Union and the United States on 23 April this year (CCD/269/Rev.2). The draft takes into account the opinions and comments of many States, presented both in this Committee and at the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Thus the draft treaty submitted for the consideration of the Committee is the product of the joint efforts of many countries and constitutes a kind of synthesis of the different positions and points of view of many States.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

13. In its statement to the Committee on 23 April this year (CCD/PV.467), the Soviet delegation gave a detailed account of the changes made in the text of the draft treaty. As we pointed out, the most important changes are in article III, concerning control. A number of new provisions have been added to those on verification and consultation rights: the right of a State Party to undertake verification, not only with its own means but also with the full or partial assistance of any other State Party; the possibility of referring a matter to the Security Council; the conduct of inspections; and reaffirmation of the requirement that all verification activities shall be conducted with due regard for the sovereign or exclusive rights of a coastal State with respect to the natural resources of its continental shelf under international law.

14. On the proposal of various countries, several new provisions have been inserted in the draft treaty. Thus, the zone covered by the draft treaty has been made more specific by the inclusion in article I of a provision which excludes the possibility of the emplacement of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction in the zone between the outer limit of the twelve-mile zone and the limit of the territorial waters of other States if their territorial waters are narrower than twelve miles. At different stages in the consideration of the draft articles were inserted concerning amendments, a conference for the revision of the treaty, a statement that the provisions of the treaty do not affect the obligations assumed by States Parties under international treaties establishing zones free from nuclear weapons, and also other changes. Additions were made to the preamble to the treaty.

15. Both the basic text of the draft treaty and the amendments and additions to it were discussed at the summer session of the Committee on Disarmament in 1969 and at its spring session this year, and in the First Committee at the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Thus the draft treaty in its present form takes into account the views expressed on it. We hope that the States members of the Committee, having had an opportunity to study carefully and reflect upon this draft, share our view and that work on the treaty will shortly be concluded. That would enable us to devote more attention to other disarmament issues. To drag out our work on the treaty would not favour agreement. It could only complicate our further efforts to limit the sea-bed arms race. Agreement on this issue might

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then be indefinitely postponed. We fear that any delay in this matter might have an unfavourable effect on further progress towards disarmament.

16. Another important and urgent task facing the Committee is agreement on a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. This question was discussed in detail at the Committee's spring session. The most significant feature of that debate was that the Committee advanced from general discussion of the problem to an analysis of the practical issues raised by the conclusion of an agreement on the complete prohibition of chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare. The discussion revealed that the views of members of the Committee coincided on a number of important points concerning the total prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. The main point of agreement was the recognition by members of the Committee of the urgent need for such prohibition. Most delegations were in favour of embodying this prohibition in a single agreement covering both bacteriological and chemical methods of warfare.

17. The Committee has before it the proposal, submitted by nine socialist countries, for a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons (A/7655). In our opinion the content of the draft and the extent of the prohibition it provides for — that is, the simultaneous prohibition of the production and stockpiling of chemical and of bacteriological methods of warfare — are in accordance with the emerging consensus of opinion in the Committee concerning the direction of our future efforts. On the proposal of Hungary, Mongolia and Poland the draft convention proposed by the socialist countries was supplemented in April of this year by provisions which strengthen the guarantees of its observance by the parties (CCD/285 and Corr.1). That constructive step was taken by the socialist countries to meet the position set forth by some delegations in the Committee and to ensure agreement on the convention as soon as possible.

18. Delay in the preparation of an agreement totally excluding chemical and bacteriological weapons from the military arsenals of States would at present serve only the interests of those trying to retain those means of warfare and to use them in military operations. It might encourage certain countries to expand the production of such means of warfare and lead to the development of newer and even

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more dangerous forms of chemical and bacteriological weapons. All this should spur us to try to conclude our work on a draft convention on the total prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons as speedily as possible.

19. In addition to seeking agreement on partial disarmament measures such as the demilitarization of the sea-bed and the total prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the Committee must make an all-out effort to achieve the principal purpose for which it was established — general and complete disarmament. The need to find a fundamental solution to the problem of disarmament is especially urgent now that the scientific and technological revolution has radically transformed warfare and some States have acquired weapons of unprecedented destructive power. The rapid improvement and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction is fraught with consequences of great danger to mankind, carrying with them the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe.

20. It is obvious, moreover, that the arms race diverts much manpower and precious material resources from constructive uses. As this Committee has more than once been told, the countries of the world together spend $200,000 million annually for military purposes. No wonder, then that the people are more and more insistently demanding an end to the dangerous and wasteful arms race. Their desire for disarmament is also evident from the General Assembly's decisions on general and complete disarmament and from the statements made by the representatives of many States at the sessions of the General Assembly, in the Committee on Disarmament and at other international conferences and meetings.

21. The Soviet Union is prepared to engage in businesslike and specific discussions with a view to preparing and concluding a treaty on general and complete disarmament, and calls upon all countries, especially the nuclear Powers, to do the same. The Soviet Union is proposing the immediate resumption of discussions on general and complete disarmament because it believes that the negotiation of agreements on certain disarmament measures has accumulated useful experience and the necessary organizational machinery for negotiations on disarmament proper. The work already done on the preparation of a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament has produced some results, which could serve as a starting-point for further efforts in that direction. As we have repeatedly emphasized, the Soviet Union certainly does not propose that the discussions in the Committee on Disarmament

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should be confined to the problems I have mentioned. As in the past, we are prepared to contribute to the solution of other disarmament problems and to do everything possible to advance the common cause of disarmament.

22. I should like to say in conclusion that the Soviet delegation will spare no effort to ensure that the work of the present session of the Committee on Disarmament is effective and that the Committee contributes to the solution of the disarmament problem and to the strengthening of international security.

23. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Mr. Chairman, may I first join you in the welcome extended to the representatives who are today heading their delegations for the first time: Ambassador Petrov and Ambassador Tanaka; and also welcome back the three representatives who have been with us before and are now rejoining us at this session: Ambassador Castañeda, Ambassador El Fassi and Ambassador Erdembileg?

24. As our Conference renews its work today after a six-week recess I think it is appropriate to quote a statement by President Nixon in his report on United States foreign policy for the 1970s. In that report he said:

> "... there is no greater idealism, no higher adventure than taking a realistic road to peace. It is an adventure realized, not in the exhilaration of a single moment, but in the lasting rewards of patient, detailed and specific efforts -- a step at a time."

It is through such detailed efforts that this Committee, by formulating effective arms control and disarmament agreements, can play an important role in helping to build the framework for a durable peace. In this light I want to comment briefly on the specific steps we might take here this summer and on the approach of the United States delegation to these matters.

25. On 23 April the United States and the Soviet Union submitted a draft treaty, revised for the second time as a result of our discussions (CCD/269/Rev.2), to ban the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed. I hope that during our recess all governments represented here have had an opportunity to study that revised draft. We look forward to hearing their comments on it.

(Mr. Leonard, United States)

26. When the Secretary-General of the United Nations spoke to us in this Committee on 18 February he pointed out that the elaboration and submission to the General Assembly of an agreed sea-bed treaty would be an important step in preventing the danger of the spread of a nuclear arms race to a vast area of our planet (CCD/PV.450, para. 16). This, indeed, is the central purpose of the treaty. It is the purpose that the United States has had very much in mind throughout these negotiations, because we believe that, as President Nixon said in his policy report: "the spread of weapons of mass destruction to this new realm would complicate the security problem of all nations and would be to no nation's advantage."

27. During our discussions this summer let us aim above all at the achievement of our main objective -- to ensure that the prohibition embodied in this draft will become a widely-accepted international treaty commitment with binding force. If that objective is kept in mind we should be able to transmit to the General Assembly a draft treaty that has broad support in this Committee.

28. During our spring session extensive and probing debate took place regarding the question of restraints on the development and production of chemical and biological weapons. We remain convinced that the best possibility for early and significant progress in this area lies in the negotiation of a ban on the production, stockpiling and use of biological weapons. We have described in considerable detail the threats posed to all by biological weapons and the reasons why we believe that progress on banning those weapons is feasible and desirable at this time. We hope that during the summer recess members of the Committee have considered the proposal by the United States (CCD/PV.468, para. 13) to broaden the coverage of the United Kingdom draft convention (ENDC/255/Rev.1) to include toxins. Coverage of these particularly deadly agents will broaden the significance and the impact of the convention on biological warfare.

29. The discussions in the Committee this spring, we believe, helped us to gain a clearer picture of the problems involved in attempting to elaborate a simultaneous and comprehensive ban on both chemical and biological weapons. In its interventions the United States delegation discussed the special problems posed by chemical agents. In the weeks ahead we plan to share with the Committee further results of our research in this area in the hope that these data will contribute to a fuller understanding of the problems of chemical weapons.

(Mr. Leonard, United States)

30. As I mentioned at the conclusion of the spring session (CCD/PV.469, para. 71), we will have before us this summer the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament (2602 E (XXIV); CCD/275). We hope our discussions on this topic will help in our search for promising and practical approaches in the field of arms control and disarmament. The United States delegation has devoted considerable study to this question during the recess, and we will outline our thoughts in this area in a plenary statement early in the session.

31. In taking the floor today I have touched on a few of the major issues that the Committee will have for consideration this session. There are other important items already on our agenda or referred to us by the United Nations General Assembly, such as the comprehensive test ban and the cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons; and I am sure that a number of delegations will have important proposals for us to consider this summer. If we are to give all of these issues the careful attention and study that they deserve, and at the same time to complete our work in advance of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly, we will have to proceed with a clear perception of our priorities and purposes. For its part, the United States delegation looks forward to working closely with our colleagues around this table in the common effort to make this session a fruitful one.

32. The CHAIRMAN (Netherlands): I wish to read out the following announcement on behalf of the two co-Chairmen:

> "The co-Chairmen are of the view that the Committee should follow the same procedures as at the last session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Formal plenary meetings will normally be held at 10.30 a.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Additional formal meetings may be arranged on Wednesdays if any members desire to speak on that day. If any delegation wishes to call an informal Wednesday meeting, the co-Chairmen would appreciate being notified a reasonable time in advance."

I assume that this procedure proposed by the co-Chairmen, which has been followed in the past, will be acceptable to the members of the Committee; and unless I hear anything to the contrary I shall take it that it is approved.

It was so decided.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 470th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Henri F. Eschauzier, representative of the Netherlands.

"A statement was made by the Chairman.

"After the conclusion of the open part of the meeting, statements were made by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

"The following document was circulated: Letter dated 10 June 1970 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the co-Chairmen of the Committee on Disarmament transmitting General Assembly documents A/7967/Add.2 and A/7967/Add.3 (CCD/284/Add.2).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 18 June 1970, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 3.45 p.m.